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ACTION AF-01

RELEASED IN PART  
B1, 1.4(B), 1.4(D)

INFO	LOG-00	AID-01	AMAD-01	CIAE-00	C-01	OASY-00	DODE-00
	EB-01	EUR-01	OIGO-01	HA-09	H-01	TEDE-00	INR-00
	IO-16	L-01	ADS-00	NSAE-00	OIC-02	PA-01	PRS-01
	P-01	RP-10	SP-00	SR-00	SS-00	STR-01	TRSE-00
	USIE-00	RPE-01	/051W				

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O 071301Z MAY 94  
FM AMEMBASSY KAMPALA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0219  
INFO AMEMBASSY KINSHASA IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS IMMEDIATE  
USMISSION GENEVA IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE  
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI IMMEDIATE  
WHITEHOUSE WASHDC IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 KAMPALA 003638

DEPT FOR SECRETARY FROM JOHN SHATTUCK  
USUN FOR AMB. ALBRIGHT  
GENEVA FOR AMB SPIEGEL  
NSC FOR DON STEINBERG

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FROM A/S JOHN SHATTUCK

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR  
TAGS: PHUM, PREF, RW, TZ, OAU, BY, UG  
SUBJECT: RWANDA: SECOND DAY WRAP-UP, A/S SHATTUCK  
MISSION

REF: (A) STATE 119320, (B) USUN 1926

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
REVIEW AUTHORITY: ARCHIE M BOLSTER  
CLASSIFICATION: CONFIDENTIAL REASON: 1.4(B), 1.4(D)  
DECLASSIFY AFTER: 7 MAY 2016  
DATE/CASE ID: 06 MAY 2011 201005065

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2. SUMMARY. OVER THE PAST TWO DAYS A PATTERN HAS EMERGED THAT INDICATES THE POSSIBILITY THAT A CEASE-FIRE CAN BE OBTAINED IN THE NEAR TERM, BUT ONLY IF ALL THE ACTORS PLAY THEIR PARTS. REGIONAL LEADERS, INCLUDING THE RWANDAN RIVALS, ALL ACCEPT IN PRINCIPLE THE IDEA OF A CEASE-FIRE. DALLAIRE IS APPARENTLY READY TO CONVENE THE COMMANDERS IN THE FIELD. THE CONCEPT OF AN ENHANCED UNAMIR THAT DALLAIRE HAS PROPOSED - BUT NOT HIS DEPLOYMENT SCHEME (SEE BELOW) - IS WHAT THE AFRICAN LEADERS WANT AND BELIEVE TO BE ATTAINABLE. SALIM SALIM WILL TRY TO LINE UP AFRICAN TROOP CONTRIBUTIONS FOR THE NEW UNAMIR. RWANDA'S NEIGHBORS ARE COMMITTED TO USING THEIR INFLUENCE ON THE CONTENDING PARTIES TO STOP THE VIOLENCE. UN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSIONER AYALA LASSO WILL INITIATE HIS MISSION TO RWANDA NEXT WEEK AFTER MY MEETING WITH HIM IN GENEVA TOMORROW. THE HUMANITARIAN COMMUNITY IS ALSO ENGAGED. END SUMMARY.

3. FRIDAY BEGAN IN DAR ES SALAAM AND IS ENDING IN  
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KAMPALA. IN BETWEEN WE STOPPED IN DODOMA FOR A MEETING WITH TANZANIAN ARUSHA FACILITATOR JOHN MALECELA, FLEW ON TO BUJUMBURA TO SEE THE PRESIDENT, PRIME MINISTER AND DEFENSE MINISTER IN THE POST-APRIL 6 INTERIM GOVERNMENT, SAW FROM THE AIR THE REFUGEES AT NGARA AND THE BODIES IN THE KAGERA RIVER ON THE RWANDAN-TANZANIAN BORDER, AND DROVE FROM ENTEBBE AIRPORT TO AN HOUR LONG EVENING MEETING WITH UGANDAN PRESIDENT MUSEVENI THAT DID NOT BEGIN UNTIL 8:30 P.M. DETAILED REPORTING CABLES ON ALL THE MEETINGS ARE ON THE WAY.

4. DURING MY TWO-DAY SWING THROUGH EAST AFRICA, I HAVE TRIED TO STIMULATE A RENEWED COMMITMENT TO ACTIONS BY ALL OF THE ABOVE, SOME OF WHOM HAD BECOME DISSPIRITED BY THE SUSPENSION OF ARUSHA TALKS AND THE GRISLY PROLONGATION OF THE TRAGEDY. NOW IT IS TIME FOR WASHINGTON AND NEW YORK TO DO THE NECESSARY. I WILL HAVE CONSOLIDATED RECOMMENDATIONS WHEN I RETURN TO WASHINGTON, BUT THERE IS NO NEED TO WAIT ON THE MAIN POINT - RESTRUCTURING THE ESSENTIAL INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN MISSION IN RWANDA.

5. DALLAIRE TO CONVENE MILITARY-TO-MILITARY TALKS.

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IN DODOMA FRIDAY MORNING, TANZANIAN PRIME MINISTER MALECELA STRONGLY SUPPORTED THE IDEA THAT DALLAIRE SHOULD QUICKLY CONVENE A MEETING OF "HIGH-RANKING MILITARY OFFICERS" FROM BOTH SIDES TO IMPLEMENT A CEASE-FIRE. DALLAIRE IS THEREFORE RIGHT TO THINK HE HAS THE POST-ARUSHA LEAD ON THE CEASE-FIRE (REFTEL A). MALECELA, THE "FACILITATOR" OF THE  
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ARUSHA PROCESS, ECHOED WHAT SALIM TOLD US THURSDAY IN ADDIS: BOTH SIDES HAD SAID IN ARUSHA THAT THEY WERE WILLING TO INITIATE A SIMULTANEOUS CEASE-FIRE. ACCORDING TO SALIM AND MALECELA, FAILURE TO SIGN A CEASE-FIRE AGREEMENT RESULTED FROM RPF ADAMANT UNWILLINGNESS TO "RECOGNIZE" THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT. THE BEST WAY TO TEST THE PARTIES IS FOR DALLAIRE TO BRING THE COMMANDERS TOGETHER. MALECELA SAID THE RPF MILITARY WOULD NEED A GREEN LIGHT FROM THE POLITICAL LEVEL BEFORE SITTING DOWN WITH DALLAIRE. IN MY KAMPALA MEETINGS WITH MUSEVENI AND THE RPF I PRESSED ON THIS. RPF REPRESENTATIVE RUDASINGWA TOLD ME A MEETING COULD OCCUR IN THE NEXT TWO TO THREE DAYS AND THAT IT HAD BEEN APPROVED BY THE RPF LEADERSHIP. I WILL ALSO ATTEMPT TO SPEAK TO THE RWANDAN AMBASSADOR AND DALLAIRE BY PHONE BEFORE LEAVING FOR GENEVA.

6. DALLAIRE PLAN FOR EXPANDED UNAMIR. WE HAVE READ DALLAIRE'S DESCRIPTION TO BOB FLATEN OF HIS CONCEPT OF A THREE-BATTALION EXPANDED UNAMIR (REFTEL A). WE HAVE A MIXED REACTION. ON THE PLUS SIDE, A

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FM AMEMBASSY KAMPALA

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SUBJECT: RWANDA: SECOND DAY WRAP-UP, A/S SHATTUCK

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CHAPTER VI HUMANITARIAN OPERATION WITH THE MISSION OF  
OPENING UP ACCESS TO AND PROTECTING VULNERABLE PEOPLE  
SEEMS RIGHT. THE OAU AND THE REGIONAL LEADERS I HAVE  
BEEN TALKING TO WOULD ALL GLADLY GIVE THEIR SUPPORT.  
BOUTROS GHALI SHOULD MAKE THIS KIND OF HUMANITARIAN

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MISSION THE CENTERPIECE OF THE "CONCEPT OF OPERATION" PAPER THE SECURITY COUNCIL PRESIDENT HAS ASKED FOR (REFTEL B). THE SIZE OF THE NEW UNAMIR, THREE BATTALIONS, WOULD BE ABOUT WHAT IT WAS BEFORE THE DRAWDOWN. I THINK SALIM WOULD BE WILLING TO RECRUIT TWO NEW AFRICAN BATTALIONS TO SUPPLEMENT THE REINFORCED GHANAIS.

7. ON THE NEGATIVE SIDE, THE DEPLOYMENT DALLAIRE ENVISIONS IS MUCH TOO KIGALI-ORIENTED. TWO OF THE THREE BATTALIONS WOULD ESSENTIALLY BE PROTECTING THE CAPITAL. THE GOR WOULD PRESUMABLY WANT TO REOCCUPY THE MINISTRIES FROM WHICH ITS OFFICIALS RECENTLY FLED. THE RPF WOULD RESIST AND UNAMIR WOULD BE IN THE MIDDLE. REMEMBER MOGADISHU. WE NEED AN INTERNATIONAL PRESENCE OUTSIDE THE CAPITAL TARGETED TO RELIEVE THE PRESSURE ON THE CONCENTRATIONS OF WOULD-BE REFUGEES ALONG THE BORDER.

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G. WE WOULD NOT WANT TO SUGGEST MICRO-MANAGING THE FORCE COMMANDER BUT THE IMPLICIT PHILOSOPHY BEHIND HIS DEPLOYMENT NEEDS TO BE RECONSIDERED. IF THIS IS TO BE A HUMANITARIAN MISSION, THEN THE UN FORCE NEEDS TO BE WHERE THE PEOPLE ARE - OUT ON THE HILLS.

9. MUSEVENI WAS INTERESTING ON THE INTERNATIONAL PRESENCE (SEE SEPTTEL). HE SEES THE MILITARY ELEMENT AS CONSISTING OF INTEGRAL NATIONAL UNITS WITH ASSIGNED SECTORS AND A LIMITED HUMANITARIAN MISSION OF PROTECTING THE VULNERABLE. HE WANTS THE

B1

10. MOBUTU.

ON FRIDAY

B1

MADE THE POINT THAT MOBUTU STILL THINKS HE IS IN CHARGE OF ARUSHA AND THE RWANDA PROBLEM. THE TANZANIANS STILL DEFER TO MOBUTU - "THE SENIOR AFRICAN STATESMAN" - THOUGH THEY EXPECT LITTLE OF HIM. FOR WHAT IT IS WORTH, THEY ADVISE US NOT TO

FORGET ABOUT MOBUTU, WHO COULD DECIDE TO RAIN ON OUR  
PARADE.

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11. I NEXT FLY TO GENEVA FOR MEETINGS WITH AYALA  
LASSO, ICRC AND UNHCR ON SUNDAY ON MY WAY HOME.  
BRUNSON MCKINLEY IS HEADING OFF TO VISIT NGARA ON THE  
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GROUND AND MAKE RECOMMENDATIONS ON FURTHER SUPPORT  
FOR THE INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN EFFORT. DAVID  
RAWSON WILL JOIN MY GENEVA MEETINGS AND WILL THEN GO  
TO PARIS TO CONSULT WITH THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT AND  
PERHAPS JOIN GEORGE MOOSE IN BRUSSELS FOR  
US-FRENCH-BELGIAN TRILATERALS NEXT FRIDAY.

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